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Latin America Report

PERU: NATURE OF SHINING PATH PHENOMENON

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12 FEBRUARY 1987

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

PERU: NATURE OF SHINING PATH PHENOMENON

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 28-57

[Series of articles in bimonthly review of DESCO (Center for Development Studies and Promotion)]

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PERU: NATURE OF SHINING PATH PHENOMENON

Part I: Understanding Shining Path

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 28-33

[Series of articles in bimonthly review of DESCO (Center for Development Studies and Promotion)]

[Article by Raul Gonzalez: "To Understand Shining Path"]

[Text] The nature of the Peruvian subversive phenomenon continues to be insufficiently understood today despite the 6 years that have passed since Shining Path decided to rise up in arms. The articles, that make up part of this special edition, seek nothing more than to provide new elements that will reinforce previous statements made in QUEHACER that the struggle undertaken by the men of Guzman is basically and principally political. The interview with prominent national anthropologist Luis Lumbreras, who for the first time speaks long and in detail on Ayacucho, the Andean world, Shining Path and its leader, "Comrade Gonzalo," also contributes to that.

One of the great shortcomings of the 28 July presidential message was undoubtedly that it did not present to the country the antisubversive strategy with which the state intends to fight the armed rebels. Not only was nothing said in that respect but it was also shown that the nature of the phenomenon whose defeat is sought is not known.

President Garcia said that "armed groups had taken and subdued peasant populations, taking advantage of their marginal state of poverty." Such affirmation would have no importance if it were not because it derives from the belief that the men of Shining Path had imposed themselves by force on part of the Peruvian peasantry. First of all, such was not the case. The armed rebels, particularly at the beginning of the struggle, managed to win some Andean peasant support, which encouraged them or allowed them to act with freedom. This distinction is relevant, because if the presidential statement was correct, the only way that an end could be put to the insurrectional adventure would be--as Belaunde believed--by expelling the alien visitors by force.

President Garcia also declared that "as a response to action by the state in the poorest zones, the subversives moved to the cities, particularly Lima, committing murders and crimes. Another error. Actions in Lima must be part of a phase of the Shining Path struggle in which the objective is the destabilization of the political system, the creation of collective confusion and insecurity, and the discrediting of the government, whose name or political party is of no interest to them. That is why it is so necessary and urgent to repeat something which appears to be an irrefutable truth but which neither our government leaders nor those, who from the opposition or the easy chair of the analysts have criticized and continue to criticize the way in which Shining Path is being fought, have understood nor much less accepted.

Six years after the insurrectional adventure was initiated, the political classes of the country appear not to understand that those who decided to rise up in arms do not seek anything other than the seizure of power so as to be able to destroy the social, economic and political order prevailing, thus destroying this state which they hope to replace by another which they suppose they are building. They do not want to accept the fact that the war declared is political and not military, and that success can only be attained in the degree that they accept the rules of the game chosen unilaterally by the rebels.

The actions by Shining Path, as a result, seek in this phase of their struggle a long term approach to their established objectives. To do this they now need to destabilize the system, discredit the government, making it unpopular, prevent the Peruvian State and democracy from becoming legitimate before the entire population, polarize the country into those who support them and those who oppose them and, finally, create conditions in the rural area that will allow them to win over the peasant thus establishing their future support bases.

The war declared is political, because if the objectives established by the rebels had to be summarized, it would have to be maintained that they seek, hope and work to win the support of a good part of the population. This is an aspect that those who believe this is a military war that must be faced with weapons alone, do not appear to perceive. And there is only one reason for this: They do not know what the rebels want nor what they intend to do.

How Shining Path Considers the Nature of its Goals

A document, whose original date must go back to the early 70's and rewritten in 1981, obviously by followers of Shining Path, maintained that there were five basic conditions for the success of revolutionary war.

1. Insure that the majority of the population is not only in agreement with the victory of the People's Armed Forces over the reactionary armed forces, but at the same time, as a demonstration of that agreement, they participate actively in the Revolutionary War.

2. Ideological conviction so that the population, fully identified with the revolution, will have the moral strength to continue forward against the dangers, adversities and bloodshed that takes place during the course of the Revolutionary War.

3. Existence of a revolutionary organization that will be the 'leadership nucleus' of the single front, as well as of the people's armed forces. This means the reconstituted PCP [Peruvian Communist Party] converted into a machine capable of seizing power. This revolutionary nucleus should be, therefore, 'submerged' within the national leadership of the single front and the people's army.

4. Existence of a Single Front that will enfold all the revolutionary forces, not just the parties.

5. The people's revolutionary army."

The document develops an explanation on what they call "the identification of the population with the revolution." They maintain the following:

"This is important so as not to fall into 'foquismo' or militarism. The population must cease to be a decorative element and participate actively in the victory of the revolution. It may be in the single front, it may be in the army, whether it be as a militant or collaborator, in the militias or in the guerrillas. It may be as an agitator, organizer, or theoretician, as a liaison, distributor, and so forth.

(...) Where lies the superiority of the revolutionary war? It resides in the fact that the population, in its great majority, must be in agreement with the revolution and participate in it. Always, speaking militarily, the reactionary armed forces are superior. The success of the revolution depends, therefore, on subjective conditions. That is our main weapon."

What Clandestine Work is Understood to be

According to Shining Path, the majority of the political organizations of the left--which they call reformist and revisionist--divide their work into "secret" and "legal." This is an error; they maintain that the proper thing to do is to divide them into "secret" and "open," because the category of "legal" "allows them to justify their legal standing." They add: "Today almost all national leaders of the left are known, not only by part of the people, but particularly by the police." For that reason secret work at all levels of the organization is kept on a need-to-know basis in every case.

Shining Path says: "For the creation and development of these nets (they refer to the various party levels) a rigorous selection of militants is required. They cannot be either voluntaries or amateurs (...). All members of the organization, regardless of their job or obligation in it, participate in intelligence."

Finally, they maintain that "clandestine action is aimed, like violent action, at the destruction of society in certain aspects, but at the same time, the construction of society, also in certain aspects:

Destruction of Society:

- a) On the psychological plane, by discrediting the values of society and by exploiting internal contradictions that may present themselves in the reactionary forces themselves.
- b) On the material plane, by causing the required disorder.

Construction of Society:

- a) On the psychological plane, by creating new values.
- b) On the material plane, by organizing the population, satisfying its needs in the liberated zones, as well as by militarizing them.

Type of Actions

Since early in the 70's, Shining Path was very clear that the actions they were going to perform would be of three types: Terrorism, sabotage and guerrilla. At this time no one doubts that this is what they are doing. The important thing for whoever really wants to understand Shining Path, is the role reserved for each of these actions, in short, what do they use them for. Let us see.

Terrorism. It can be defined as follows: "It is a number of actions that may range from simple threats to the execution of an enemy of the people." Its objectives are:

- a) To separate the population from the legal bourgeoisie authority and win it over to the revolution. This is achieved in two phases: In the first, the population remains passive toward the bourgeoisie authorities. They do not help in the terrorist tasks, although they "help" with their silence. In the second phase, terrorism begins to acquire the support of the population and little by little it participates.
- b) To destroy the organization of society. In society there are a series of political, administrative and other hierarchies, men who have a leadership position in society. An attempt is made to limit their actions through terrorism, to isolate them from the population and even to eliminate them if necessary.
- c) To cause the failure of the actions of the reactionary government. This is accomplished in two aspects: Seek to make the reactionary forces of order fail to arrest the direct authors of actions and, in second place, the repeated failures of the reactionary forces of order lead to the decline in their fighting spirit because they feel powerless before an invisible enemy.

Terrorism, they maintain, can be selective or systematic: The former, when action is taken against persons previously selected, the latter, when action is taken against persons of the entities and agencies of the state machinery, as well as those that represent imperialism.

Sabotage

The purposes sought are the same as terrorist attacks, with one addition: "Support of actions against reactionary forces of order." For example, the blowing up of a bridge that serves as a means of communication for enemy forces.

The Guerrillas

The concept is the traditional: The offensive of the insurrection, the manner in which the enemy forces are confronted.

Undoubtedly there is only one conclusion: All actions seek to accelerate the destruction of the system, destabilize the government and state, and punish the enemy. And it can never be taken in an isolated manner, as if the final purpose of any attack were an end in itself.

Phases: What They Seek to Achieve

For the men of Shining Path the periods and phases of the war initiated correspond to those indicated by tradition for any type of insurrection. They are in some way the phases gone through by the long march headed by Mao Tse Tung. However, they have reinterpreted and adapted some of them to the national situation.

The following are five phases contained in a document prepared by them in 1974, and which, everything appears to indicate, has not undergone any substantive changes. The title of the work is "Development of the People's War." Pay particular attention to the objectives they seek to reach in each phase.

I. Period Prior to the Outbreak of the Prolonged People's War:

1. First Phase. "It is the moment of deployment and infiltration. It is the moment in which the revolutionary apparatus is organized and placed in operation. It is the phase in which agitation and propaganda perform an intensive work. Psychological warfare is open. It is a slow and predominantly clandestine phase. It is initiated thanks to a Revolutionary Nucleus, that at the same time creates the Single Front and also creates the bases for the People's Army.

2. Second Phase. It is when the first is consolidated and put into effect. Here revolutionary agitation begins to bear its first fruit: Strikes. Against the will of the PCP, strikes at first will be for economic reasons only, but progressively the population, thanks to the work of the party, will become aware and aim at the seizure of power. Agitation and propaganda

on armed struggle become more intense, and the demarcation of areas with respect to reformism and revisionism also becomes necessary. The first military actions may be undertaken in this phase as the basis for the initiation of guerrilla forces. These first actions may be those accomplished by the People's Self-Defense Groups. Work in the rural area should have been established and the strategic zones of the people and the military zones of the enemy determined. This work among the peasants presupposes a profound knowledge of the peasant situation: The system of land ownership, cattle raising, the degree of progress of the zone, social problems, and so forth. In second place, one must live, work and struggle together with the peasants. Thanks to this--the third action becomes possible, that of organizing them revolutionarily and training revolutionary peasant cadres. In other words, the party must be built in the rural area.

To achieve this, the following is required: 1) Struggle for the centralization of the peasant movement. 2) Struggle for the recovery of peasant lands. 3) Creation of party cells in each community, in each ranch, and so forth. 4) Creation of Peasant Self-Defense Commands progressively. 5) Creation of a Peasant Cadre School. 6) Strengthening of the Worker-Peasant Alliance, and so forth. As it has been well said:

'The Communist Party is the party of the working class, but within its ranks the bravest and most aware peasant fighters can and must serve, particularly the poor and semiproletarian peasants of the rural area. As Mao Tse-Tung says, the proletarian leadership is the only guarantee of the revolution, but it cannot be accomplished without seeking the support of the peasants, who are its main force.'

II. Period of the Outbreak of the Prolonged People's War

3. Third Phase. It is characterized by the generalization of violence. The objective: The final break of the physical and psychological contact between the masses and the reactionary authorities is sought. The party already takes a definitive form in the sense that it has filled out all its table of organization. It is here in this phase that the guerrillas appear and the population supports revolutionary action. In the Chinese experience (and it will not necessarily be the same in another country) this support of the population for the guerrillas was given in the places called 'Support Bases,' which appear in this phase.

Sabotage and terrorism and the appearance and development of military units, guerrillas, are intensified; Support Bases are created and Regional Units are organized. The Party still remains in clandestinity and becomes stronger in this phase.

In this phase, as in the previous one, caution and secrecy must be much greater, because intelligence services intensify their investigations and torture, seeking the 'thread that will lead them to the skein.'

4. Fourth Phase. Creation of Liberated Zones and the Appearance of a Revolutionary Provisional Government. In this phase, all the procedures of clandestine and violent action continue to be used, through this seeking the propagation of the Prolonged People's War until achieving the liberation of large areas of territory. And how is a liberated zone created? It is created by the expansion of a support base or by the union of one or more support bases, or by a combined form which merges the two previously mentioned forms.

The Revolutionary Provisional Government shall be the only administrator, the only political power in this zone. As for the combat units, these will no longer be simply guerrillas but regional units, which means the merger of several guerrillas. Now, at this moment, there should be a regular force, which is, therefore, the regional units. The guerrillas will continue to exist, but as a support. The Revolutionary Government must achieve an international audience and recognition.

5. Fifth Phase. This is the phase of the Prolonged People's War in which war is total. The great majority of the population now favors the revolution. This phase should mark the victory of the People's Revolutionary War for their national and social liberation on the road to Socialism, thus achieving the replacement of reactionary government and authority by a people's power.

Peculiarities. In practice, this systematic outline is flexible and varies according to the peculiarities of each revolution and each country. Thus, for example, a phase may stop, retreat or superimpose itself on the following phases. It can be very short or even not exist. Moreover, the Revolutionary War advances in fragmentary fashion, combining varied procedures that make it impossible for it to be uniform as in an inflexible plan.

Finally, it must be added that for the success of the Revolution it is necessary to "work!" among the reactionary armed forces, seeking to divide them, undermine them, break their discipline."

Up to here this is what Shining Path has said and done. Is what they want and pursue day by day perhaps not crystal clear?

Interview with Lumbreras

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 34-43

[Interview with Luis Lumbreras Salcedo by Raul Gonzalez]

[Text] Luis Lumbreras Salcedo, 50, is undoubtedly the most important Peruvian archeologist. A native of Ayacucho, Lumbreras is part of a generation of professors called upon for the reopening of the San Cristobal de Huamanga University. There he met and became a friend of Abimael Guzman and he was a competent witness of the birth of the now famous Shining Path movement. In this interview Lumbreras speaks for the first time about his Ayacucho, the Shining Path insurrection, and makes important and suggestive statements.

Question: How long has it been since you returned to Ayacucho?

Answer: Since October 1979. The last time that I was there for a long time was in 1966...

Question: You are a native of what part of Ayacucho?

Answer: Of the city of Huamanga itself.

Question: During which years did you teach?

Answer: Between March 1960 and February 1966...

Question: What is Ayacucho to you, aside, obviously from being the city of your birth?

Answer: Several things, like spots. The first view is that of a heavily semifeudal Ayacucho, with acute class differences; that is the Ayacucho I saw in childhood and the one I felt and perceived the most. The second picture I have is that of an Ayacucho on the way to decomposition, to the transformation of the people, the bright colonial light, to a type of rebellious, protesting people. That is the Ayacucho I perceive at this time. After that, what I have are reports from people who have been there, persons with whom I have coexisted and lived.

Question: In that Ayacucho you call semifeudal...

Answer: In some way, yes. When one sees Peru from Lima, in more or less general terms, the picture becomes distorted by modernity, by a western viewpoint of observing things. When one looks at a country from Ayacucho and understands the heroism of the peasant in making his livelihood and in his frantic struggle for survival, then the perspective changes. There are things one cannot imagine, such as meeting a peasant on a road and when you ask him who he is he replies that he belongs to a certain person or family. He does not say he is Pedro Gomez but that he is of Guevara, that is, of the owner of such and such ranch, because the importance a person may have is determined by the importance of Guevara within the Ayacucho social context. That type of explicit servitude, without any type of disguise, is associated with Pongaje and Yanaconaje [Indian bound servants], to a series of very complex forms of exploitation of the land the peasantry by the large landowners. That is what I saw in my childhood. Justice was dispensed by the large landowners because the judges were part of that sector, they were their servants or people hired by them. Authority was of a semifeudal nature.

Question: Which year are we speaking about?

Answer: Of the phase of my childhood, which is around the 40's and 50's. The period before the 60's...

Question: What about the Ayacucho that Abimael Guzman knows...

Answer: It is an Ayacucho slightly different from it, because while in the Ayacucho Abimael knows, Pongaje and Yanaconaje and the estates continue (particularly the small estates), it finds itself in decomposition nevertheless. Commerce has arrived, there is a burgeoning urban bourgeoisie that is displacing the old sector; there is an important correlation of social changes. On the other hand, the entire Pampas region has risen against the seizure of land. The Pomacocha ranch, I remember it well, was viewed by us as a particular phenomenon. That ranch was seized by the peasants and it was huge. It was almost three provinces of Ayacucho, and the peasants had organized their militias and had autonomy before we went to the university. Because of that we found a general belligerence in the region. When the university was installed, there was a sort of peasant effervescence. It was the era of Hugo Blanco, Chaupimayo, the unions of La Convencion, when land was being seized in Junin and flags were being placed everywhere; when the cry of agrarian reform expressed one of the main demands of the entire leftist movement. I recall that phase of the National Liberation Front, General Pando and Father Bolo, who asked and urged the recovery of petroleum and the nationalization of the banks. The presence of Abimael Guzman and the reopening of the university took place under those circumstances.

Question: How much influence did the reopening of the university have in that transition described?

Answer: The university arrived at a time in which these changes took place. Otherwise it could not have entered and achieved its insertion within that context of life. Ayacucho was a very conservative, almost monastic, profoundly reactionary society... But there was already an incipient bourgeoisie who supported the university...

Question: But the university accelerated the process...

Answer: No. The university was a very old demand, and, paradoxically, was led by the most conservative sectors, who sought to open what they thought could be the place where they would find a platform. They were all the landowning gentlemen, the people with economic power, who for years had been trying to reopen the university. Therefore, the university was opened because of the pressure of this conservative sector, who initially thought of a traditional theological university, an institution devoted to the training of priests and lawyers; a typical conservative and traditional university. What happened was something entirely different, because the one who went to direct the university was a liberal captain of industry, a believer in the doctrine of the U.S. universities, Don Fernando Romero, a former sailor, a modern man, who went to install a modern efficient university at the service of the region. This meant supporting careers that had nothing to do with traditional and provincial traditions of life, but rather identified themselves with the peasants and their problems. These were careers such as anthropology, and above all, for example, rural engineering, which did not exist in any university and was a mixture of farmer, agricultural engineer,

civil engineer and architect, a mixture of several things, a sort of barefoot engineer who served the purposes and needs of the Ayacucho rural area. No medical school was created, but rather midwives and male nurses were trained, who dealt in preventive medicine and dealt with the most pressing rural problems.

Question: You would therefore reject the theory that the university is the one responsible for promoting the socioeconomic and political development of the region...

Answer: The university played the role of a detonator for a social situation that was on the point of exploding, and it made it explode. To begin with, it provided access to education to a number of peasants, who had no other way to enter a higher institute of learning: The children of peasants and workers, that is, all the people of the region. In the second place, it let the people of Ayacucho know that another way of looking at things was possible. The people of Ayacucho were accustomed to listening for the cathedral bell at noon so that they could kneel and cross themselves; to pray the Angelus at 0600 pm, because they believed that they could save their soul by this. However, everything changed when the university began to speak about human rights and the United Nations Declaration was made known. All this spread to the peasants. What was generated here was an explosion, as happened a few years later. That means that what is today called or is known as Shining Path is a phenomenon with old roots...

Question: How do you explain what is happening now? Is it the result of a particular situation or is it the almost logical result of everything that you have been saying?

Answer: To me the phenomenon known as Shining Path goes far beyond the existence of a political party that decides to organize a war. Because of that I believe that a type of exclusively military response is totally erroneous, because that only goes skin deep. Neither do I believe that the problem is hunger. Those who have rebelled are not hungry. This is a traditionally false concept. I am not in agreement with that theory. I believe that what is happening there is the development of many contradictions, among which the most important is the one having to do with social justice. There are people in Ayacucho who have the right to trample on the Indian simply and purely because he is an Indian, because he is a certain economic and cultural category. The university allowed an analysis, a self-analysis. The university made it possible for the peasants to begin to discover their own existence, their reality. After a very short time of being in operation, the university was accused of being communist by the entire conservative sector of Ayacucho.

Question: It is explained by injustice, but also by the existence of the party, of the university.

Answer: There was injustice, the party, the university, the historical conditions that demanded a solution to existing problems. Ayacucho is a zone that is permanently insulted by promises that are not kept. When the people are made promises that are not kept, they have the right to protest. What is actually done is to increase their expectations and their will. And that has happened for very many years. Economic conditions had reached a saturation point, as had all the rest: Social conditions, the polarization of society, the decomposition of the old feudal system... Ayacucho always believed in anniversaries because things were accomplished: In 1924 the highway in commemoration of the Battle of Ayacucho was built and other projects were completed. The same thing happened on the sesquicentennial. The people of Ayacucho believed that now they had to wait until 2004--and that is part of that saturation--the deadline for the demands for development of the population, until they reached a limit. The university played the role of detonator, and Shining Path is nothing more than the violent organizational representation of all this historical process of social explosion. If it had not been Shining Path, it would have been any other vanguard, tomorrow or later on. These are historical situations that are beyond the will of the people.

Question: Is it that the political leadership, the ideological content...

Answer: The ideological has several components, because there is a difference between this uprising and what happened with the guerrilla in 1964. To me this difference is very important. The guerrilla of the 60's tried a sort of insertion into the rural area; a rabble of petite bourgeois of the capital went into the rural area to liberate the poor peasants from the bonds they had with the semifeudal system. That was what happened. The men went prepared to die, to be martyrs, and, of course, they were all "comandantes." There was a rejection of this theory in the rural area. They were persuaded by declarations--some of them fallacious, some historically interesting--such as the message of the Cuban Revolution, which had an impact on everyone in our time, or the great Chinese Revolution. The present situation is completely different because it is the result of the maturation of a collection of conditions, those of a party and a strategy of growth among the population. Therefore, ideology is somewhat the result of both things. There is the spontaneous emergence of an entire model of behavior and the prospects of the construction of a new form of society and, on the other hand, there is, obviously, all the ideological content assimilated from Maoism, but which has undergone the rectifications made by Abimael Guzman, who in turn has taken them primarily and particularly from Mariategui.

Question: Would you say that the merging of Mariategui, Mao and Abimael Guzman result in the Gonzalo line of thought?

Answer: Yes, but you would have to add to it the component of the regional ethnic base with which in this ideology is imitated and reconciled.

Question: All the questions asked on the Shining Path phenomenon or on the problem of Ayacucho make reference to the material conditions of life or to historical conditions. However, if we analyze what is happening in the country at this time a little bit, we see that Shining Path has taken root in Azangaro and has managed to do something similar in Daniel Alcides Carrion Province, not in all of Huanuco, but it did in Ambo, in Huancavelica itself, in the Trujillo Mountains, in the Ancash Mountains, that is, in a number of places where the historical and material situations are different than those of Ayacucho. Do you not believe that in some way reality places in question results of that nature?

Answer: Ayacucho is not an island. I do not share in the idea of a forgotten country. There is no forgotten region. Our historical process is consistent, even with its constant changes in structuring between the so-called backward ways of life and the superdeveloped ones. And the explanation resides in the particular way in which the social forces develop in our country and the vigor that these forces acquire with respect with their ways of life, whether it be with respect to the development of the country or in terms of their own bonds with imperialism. Ayacucho is part of an economic, social and historical process, but poverty and injustice are an unshakable part of the synchronous and syncretic development that is taking place throughout the length and breadth of this country. Therefore, the conditions that are found in Ayacucho are conditions that are connected or are similar to situations that are found in Cusco, or in the south, or in Huancayo, or in the north.

The country is a whole, from my point of view it is undergoing a situation of progressively rising tensions, of progressive crisis, crisis in the sense of outlook, crisis of a breakdown in looking for new things; not only a crisis in the sense of splitting apart. That is what is happening in Peru. What is happening in Peru should have its explanation in Puno, I do not believe it has its explanation in Ayacucho. I do not believe it will be easy to explain that of Puno by saying: "The Shining Path men from Ayacucho went to Puno, they talked to them in Aymara or in the local Quechua and they rebelled." The old idea that there are people who are capable of brainwashing people is not true, much less in this case because no one risks his life simply because someone whispers in his ear. What is not happening in Cusco should also have its explanation in Cusco. What has taken place there is a sort of detonation in a region, an explosion in the central mountains, which obviously affects the rest. Peru is not a Balkanized social countryside; it is the result of a process of a very singular makeup throughout its history.

Question: Why not speak of a multinational country, of the several Perus?

Answer: The situation of unity resides in the fact that Peru was always a multinational country.

Question: What is it that makes it up?

Answer: The characteristic feature of Peru is its variety and for that reason unity is required. This is the way this country is and we can see it through archeological study, through the study of a long period. The era of the greatest uniformity was that of the Inca empire, but precisely what the Incas did was develop, respecting the differences of the conquered people and developing regional potentials to the maximum, thus creating unity.

Question: What type of unity?

Answer: We have a multiform geographical makeup in Peru. The coast of Peru is a collection of valleys separated by deserts; in the mountains the separations are caused by depressions, basins, valleys, rivers, gullies and so forth; it is separated by plateaus, separated by high and cold environments, normally making life difficult. Therefore, we have, if we look at the economic map of Peru, a sort of archipelago (productively speaking). It is not a unitary country as far as its economic geography is concerned. The coast is a collection of green productive triangles and the mountains a series of circles, of units, separated one from the other in which, of course, the concentration of population is not uniform either; it is totally atypical in each place. Very well, what has happened throughout history is that each of these units became a unit of independent economic integrations; they are units whose essence, in the economic sense, consists of trying to resolve their basic subsistence needs by themselves. What they did not have they went out to obtain by barter or by another means, but in principle they tried to cover an area with their own work, an area that served them to survive; this created regions.

When we look at the map of the VI Century or the X Century, we find spots, very different cultures. Of many of them it could be thought that they never made contact or knew each other. However, we observe that all of them progressed throughout the historic process in a uniform manner, that is, if the urban revolution takes place, it will take place in all these parts simultaneously. It is enough for something to happen in one of them and immediately a sort of chain reaction will be produced throughout the length of the Andean area. The reason for this: These economically self-sufficient areas of production and consumption, in order to operate as such, require complementary economic forms in order to remove certain types of products from their region and to be able to acquire other products at the same time that are in scant supply in their region. There are zones, for example, where there is an abundance of corn and potatoes; there are zones where there is a surplus of fish, where copper is abundant. What results is a sort of a network of exchange of things produced excessively in one region for products that are scarce in that same region and which in exchange are surplus in another region. The country begins to unite in this way. Therefore, we have the region of Ica, permanently united to Ayacucho by that same mechanism of necessary and constant exchanges, despite the fact that each of them maintains its cultural forms in a self-sufficient manner because they resolve their basic existence there to such a point that Ayacucho can do without Ica, cut it off and continue to survive, and Ica

can do without Ayacucho and continue to survive, but so that their life may be better and improve and have a more fluid development, they do need each other and that allows circulation in different directions, from north to south and from east to west; the formation of great regions at the east-west level being of importance. This is an essential phenomenon for understanding why it is that when an event such as that of Shining Path happens, immediately a sort of chain reaction is produced throughout the Andes, and that is what happened in the time of Huari, in the Inca era, in all eras.

Question: You spoke of the Inca empire, which had developed a unity....

Answer: Unity based on a necessary plurality. The Incas assimilated and even incorporated an Ecuadorean region, but they did not tell them to change their way of life. On the contrary, they tried to have them develop their own gods, their own mechanisms of property; they incorporated them in the economic sense so that they would serve that zone and others and so that they would make contact with the others in a process of profitable exchange, but where each of them maintained its self-sufficient forms of resolving its existence.

Question: Is that the way Shining Path understands it?

Answer: I do not know exactly what it is that they think about the future; very few people know. From the few things I heard years ago from such people as Abimael Guzman, I can infer that there is a sort of understanding of what the Andean world is, but I do not know how much of this understanding is the result of the ethnic factor and how much is the result of the maturation of ideology. I have the impression when I see the Shining Path map of 1986 that a phenomenon is taking place very similar to the one that took place in the VI Century with Huari, and in the XII Century with the Incas. It is a process of development based on a collection of axes that in this phase played important economic roles. I am not a partisan of the anniversary explanation that is very frequently made. I do not believe it. There is no Pachacutec nor an Inkarrí about to appear. Abimael Guzman is not Inkarrí nor part of the Andean myth. He is first a leader with a Maoist rather than an Andean proposal. It seems to me that there is a strong component of Andean nature. I believe that it is an agrarian proposal in the sense that he understands that the main problem of the country is a problem that includes the need to build a type of production that is in keeping with the country's capacity to produce, which is essentially agrarian. This point is associated with the need to give priority to the development of the rural area over that of the city, that is the Pol Pot aspect that is spoken about.

Question: Only that?

Answer: I believe there is an element that is difficult to understand in Lima, and that is the way in which authority is observed and evaluated, ranging from the idea of imperialism to that of the social classes. Normally, for the urban mentality, imperialism is represented by the officials who are in Washington; they are the gringos, the large multinational

companies and, consequently, when imperialism is attacked, Washington must be attacked, the multinational companies must be attacked, and so forth. For Shining Path, imperialism is not outside the house, it is here inside, and it is here where the problem must be resolved. They are transmission belts of which Mao spoke; that means that they are the ones who represent them. That is what moves them to kill governors, local mayors, local ethnic authorities, and so forth; to "execute" them as they say, because they are considered part of that military, class and imperialist apparatus. Suddenly a Mr Mamani, who was not a gringo, was executed. Why? Because he was considered a support base on which imperialism was supported. Therefore, this death had a very Maoist political content, but at the same time, a very typical ethnic content.

Question: Why ethnic?

Answer: It is enough to read "Todas las Sangres" ["All Bloods"] by Arguedas to note that this is exactly what the peasants think about what power is. To the peasant power is not only in the ranch owner but in those who carry out his orders. It is against them, therefore, against whom the fight must be made...against whom the struggle must be made.

Question: And on this fact Shining Path bases its strategy of growth...

Answer: That is the way it is. The theory for building a new state is also interesting. They base themselves on a Mao Tse-tung document known by the name of "New Democracy," which is the description of what the people's democratic revolution should be, and in which he maintained the need for building a new state from the foundations up, which means training leaders, a new type of people, everything. And Mao's theory, which they follow, is that all this is attained by means of a long, hard and prolonged struggle through which a mass capable of changing the country is formed.

Question: You have been a friend of Abimael Guzman. Is that not true?

Answer: We were very good friends, particularly in the university. We were almost of the same age. Moreover, he was single and we made up a group of friends among several professors of the area of Letters.

Question: Was the construction of Shining Path initiated?

Answer: No, at that time the Communist Party (Red Flag) was a single entity. Shining Path appeared later as a result of the internal divisions in the phase of defeat of the MIR and National Liberation Army. They were hard years for the insurgent leftist forces, at least for those who espoused armed struggle as a form of existence. The name of Shining Path appeared then from the already famous newspaper advertisement they had published.

Question: It was the hard phase of the Sino-Soviet quarrel...

Answer: In 1964, approximately, there was a great split in the Peruvian Communist Party; the first classic split between the pro-Soviets and the pro-Chinese, which took place in the fourth conference of the party. The split between "Red Fatherland" and "Red Flag" took place in 1967. The separation of Shining Path took place subsequently.

Question: What memories do you have of Guzman?

Answer: A brilliant man, a great polemicist, the possessor of a precise rhetoric, he spoke in short phrases that always contained something precise. As a professor he was brilliant, as an expounder he was excellent. He was not so in his writing; speaking, he was fluid and very strict; he was very disciplined and orderly; he was not very inclined to idleness and was always looking for something to do and speaking about what had to be done...

Question: If you had to judge him historically, would you dare to do it?

Answer: Francisco Moncloa made a serious accusation against me. He said I was a historian. According to Paco, a historian is one who gave his opinion after things had taken place. At any rate, I am in a position to give an opinion. First of all, because I loved Abimael like a brother. That last time I saw him he was still a professor; we met very little. I never saw him again. My opinion of him, therefore, is strongly subjective. I believe, on the other hand, that he, whether mistaken or not, is giving of himself everything that a man can give in support of his ideas. I also confess that I refuse to be objective. Very well, with respect to the person, not to the friend, I must say that to me Shining Path is a phenomenon that is above Abimael and all those who follow Guzman. I believe that it is a historical phenomenon which necessarily had to present itself in Peru; if not yesterday, tomorrow or the day after, but surely within our time. Moreover, I believe that what is known by the name of Shining Path is something we could have foreseen, and I believe that politicians like Velasco Alvarado foresaw it in their time and in their own way. It seems to me that the Velasco government was an attempt to forestall an outbreak, such as the one that is taking place now, because he tried a counterrevolution in his own way, in other words, counterinsurgency.

Question: A last attempt at saving the system from an insurrection...

Answer: No one had attempted it and the military did. And not only that, the Velasco Government planted elements and promises in the social consciousness which, when they were not forthcoming, created even greater demands than those that existed before. A president cannot play around with those things. When he goes out and offers something he has to keep very much in mind that a president represents a system, and if he offers the salvation of the world, he has to save the world, if he does not, the entire world turns on him. The people mature in their status as the oppressed and exploited. What happened was that with the counterreform begun by Morales Bermudes, even the smallest elements of the reconstruction of the country offered by Velasco were cast aside.

Question: Promises are being made at this time by the president himself, particularly in those regional meetings called "Rimanacuy..."

Answer: The problem is that if the Rimanacuy do not have a counterpart in reality, if what is promised is not forthcoming, what is being sowed in the country with each Rimanacuy are 100 new Shining Paths, which sooner or later will appear. What is being generated is simply a new element of violence, one more element of insurrection. I recall the last days of the Belaunde Administration. There was an eagerness for change. Then things changed because the speech by Alan Garcia was full of promises that opened up prospects and possibilities. Then everyone recovered his faith and believed in possibilities, alternatives, hopes. And the people still believe and wait...

Question: If frustrated they will create the conditions necessary for an uprising.

Answer: I believe that such frustration is a little a part of the subjective conditions for a general popular uprising such as the one taking place in the country.

Question: That is taking place?

Answer: As a historian I view what is happening in Peru with much anguish and anxiety. When Belaunde was in power I viewed him with pessimism; apparently there was no alternative. At this time there is the promise that it will appear and there have certainly been improvements in certain sectors, but what still worries me is the development of a process in which power continues to be in the hands of the most conservative sectors of the country. That worries me. The government is in the hands of a young man who has great enthusiasm, although I believe his ideology is wrong, who certainly wants a change; he has a notable desire for change. I also believe that he perceives that this change has to be in terms of the country. It is also noted that he wants to create revolutionary conditions. But what is happening? Garcia calls on the poorest sectors of the people; the sectors displaced from production, the poorest sectors of the city and rural areas. It is to be noted that these are exactly the sectors called upon by Shining Path; those it rallies, but those upon whom it calls. It calls upon the poorest sectors to retake production and retake the task of building a new country with specific offers. I recall several very fiery speeches by Garcia, that could have been made by anyone from Shining Path; I can also say that he would have said almost the same thing. Undoubtedly an effervescence is being created, and with it, a radical position toward the IMF, support for Nicaragua...All in all, a very interesting speech. The unfortunate part of it is that all of this does not become actual measures and steps.

For example, we thought that the strategy of antisubversive struggle was going to change but nothing has changed. And the worst thing of all is that this year we have seen more of what we saw last year. Uchuraccay has remained in prison. Therefore, the entire collection of promises and things

not done will spur the increase in violence, unease, dismay and "lumpenization" of society. That is why one is now even afraid to go out into the streets, not only because of fear of robbers, but also of the police, which means that we are in a condition of generalized decomposition.

Question: What did Shining Path hope to do?

Answer: I believe Shining Path is the expression of a social phenomenon that goes beyond its own existence...

Question: Which could have been called anything...

Answer: Exactly, because it is contained within a movement that began in the 50's.

Question: Shining Path is attempting a historical recovery of the thinking of Jose Carlos Mariategui. How do you believe they understand Mariategui?

Answer: I have the impression that basically they base themselves on the beliefs of Mariategui, thinking of Mao and thinking how Mao could be applied in terms of the conditions of development of the country. There are some elements of Shining Path that are completely Maoists, such as the theory that the main revolutionary force is the peasantry, but at the same time, there is a Mariategui concept when the theory is espoused that the revolution is the heroic creation of the people and consequently must reflect the specific historical conditions within which this revolutionary process takes place. It strikes me that the materialism of Shining Path resides in the tendency to assume this to be a movement of national liberation and that the national part of it should be assumed as a recovery of the conditions of historical existence of our people. Now, the native and ethnic nuances in Shining Path have, I believe, a historical explanation within which the movement is taking place. I would say that Shining Path arrived at Mariategui through Maoism and it met with a reality that forced it to accept a concept and a perception that is essentially national for any movement conceived here.

Henry Favre Interview

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 44-48

[Interview with Henry Favre, director of the National Center for Scientific Research of Paris by Raul Gonzalez in Lima, date not given]

[Text] As is known, Henri Favre is not only a prominent French social scientist, but also knows Peru well. A couple of years ago he published his work "Shining Path and Dark Horizons" in which a number of controversial statements were made.

Henri Favre was in Lima some days ago, continuing his study on Shining Path, and for this reason he met with many and varied personalities, among them President García, who he visited on more than one occasion.

What we now present are the answers given by Favre to four questions we asked him and in which he speaks particularly of the strategy and scope of Shining Path. For many reasons, the opinion of Favre leads to a debate which now, more than ever before, is urgent and necessary.

At this time Henri Favre is director of research of the National Center for Scientific Research of Paris. (R.G.)

Question: The different explanations for the insurrection in Peru make reference to reasons that can very well be located in Ayacucho (Poverty, injustice, a one of a kind political figure, and so forth). Nevertheless, 6 years after armed actions began, Shining Path can exhibit new subversive spots: Cerro de Pasco, Puno, mountains of La Libertad, Huanuco, and so forth. What has happened? Do you believe that the explanation you made on Shining Path and the phenomenon of Ayacucho continue to be valid?

Answer: I have never believed that Shining Path was a peasant-based regional insurrection. Certainly in 1980 Ayacucho was--and still is today--one of the poorest and most backward departments of the country. However, poverty and backwardness have never led a people to rebel. On the contrary, poverty and backwardness are powerful factors for conservatives. The old hereditary dictatorships of yesteryear knew this.

On the other hand, this poverty was--and is--very equally shared, since 70 percent of the people of Ayacucho shared 60 percent of the departmental income. The traditional landowners had practically disappeared and, despite what Shining Path ideology sought to be, I do not think it possible to see in Shining Path the struggle of oppressed peasants against inexistent large landholdings.

I continue to think, that while the insurrection began in Ayacucho, it was because Shining Path found itself there and that it had been performing an intensive political work there for more than 10 years. If it had found itself in Puno, Cusco or Ancash, and if they had performed the same work in those places with the same intensity, the insurrection would have begun in one of those departments. Since the soil in which Shining Path puts down its roots exists a little bit in all parts of Peru, in the mountains, as well as on the coast, in the rural zones as well as the urban conglomerations, this explains the propagation of Shining Path and its ubiquity. It is that mass, so difficult to estimate but undoubtedly considerable, of uprooted country dwellers, peasants who have lost their identity and mixed blood Indians, who have been torn from their land, but who cannot manage to join the general class structure and who know that they have no chance of obtaining access to it.

Engendered by a double process of unsuccessful modernization and accelerated social decomposition caused by the brutal reforms of the military regime, this population finds itself in a state of flux in society. It represents no profits for the economic system, which shows itself to be incapable of associating it, not even informally, with production. In this respect, the individuals who make it up have nothing to do with those "informal ones" studies, not without cynicism or naivete. They are not potential businessmen, these people who only lack access to bank loans to become the archetypal "Schumpeter." Neither are they creators of alternative cultures of the "Chicha" or other types. These are men and women who have no other future than that of insuring for themselves their day-to-day sustenance, going from a part-time job to a precarious occupation, without knowing precisely what is going to happen the next day. The permanent search for a means of immediate sustenance forces them to a great geographical mobility, of which Shining Path has taken advantage. A seasonal worker in Chanchamayo yesterday, porters today in Huancayo, tomorrow they will be in Lima washing or cleaning the windshields of cars waiting for green lights at the corners of Arequipa Avenue. The small farm, that in many cases they continue to keep in their towns of origin--or in the town of origin of their parents--and which they have left in the care of a relative or partner, provides them with the means for surviving for a few weeks. It becomes the last refuge when life in the city becomes impossible. Since the early 70's a good number of migrants, including children of migrants, have returned to their ancestral communities in the mountains, bearing all their frustrations which the failure of their experience in the city has loaded on them, and which is expressed in Shining Path violence. These frustrations are particularly intense among the young who have gone through secondary schools (and still are not able to speak Spanish correctly) or the university (and still do not know how to spell).

To all these individuals, who are not peasants or workers, urban or rural dwellers, Andeans or Natives, who have as little social identity as they do cultural identity, and are sinking into anomie, Shining Path offers them a structure, standards and values. To their exacerbated frustrations it offers an ennobling action. To their useless life, it offers a direction. That is more or less what I wrote in 1983. I repeat it and I underwrite it.

Question: Recently, subversive actions have intensified in Lima. How do you evaluate them and what could be considered the Shining Path strategy?

Answer: The Shining Path people know that the victory they want can only be a political victory and that it must go through the conquest of the cities, Lima primarily, the center of power. The resurgence of terrorism in the capital since January may be interpreted as the reinforcement of an action that was begun in 1982, aimed at systematically disorganizing urban life for the purpose of subjecting the population to living conditions that are more and more difficult to bear. In 10, 30 or 50 years, the people of Lima, sated with attacks, hardships of all types, inevitable police operations and military dragnets, will conclude by becoming convinced that no government is capable of insuring even a minimum of order and safety in

the capital. Then, Shining Path thinks, Lima will be willing to surrender by itself to Shining Path.

However, the resurgence of urban terrorism is not attributable exclusively to Shining Path. Since 1984, Shining Path activities have been taken up and expanded by extremist organizations such as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement [MATA] or the People's Revolutionary Commandos. This means that Shining Path has had an effect of demonstration and attraction in the fringers of public opinion that does not necessarily share its ideology. It has legitimized resorting to the submachinegun and bombs in the eyes of certain political groups that pursue similar objectives but different than its own. The future will tell whether one must see in that legitimization of violence the beginning of a process of "Shining Path" support by society. However, let us emphasize as of now that the inability of the government and opposition parties to propose a political plan that will be sufficiently credible as to mobilize the people, cannot help but favor that process.

However, the MRTA cannot be identified with Shining Path. The MRTA is nothing but a terrorist group without a social foundation. Shining Path is an insurrectional movement that uses terrorism within the more general framework of an armed people's struggle.

Question: What do you believe is the strategy waged by Shining Path in the political and military areas?

Answer: Shining Path is both a political challenge to the leadership class and an intellectual challenge to those who have the responsibility for molding public opinion. Up to now that double challenge has not been well received. Instead of trying to analyze Shining Path, many politicians are satisfied up to now with exorcizing the frightening spirit. Because they say that Shining Path is a "millenarist," "archaic" or "prepolitical" movement, they give themselves up to performing an exorcism and not to analysis. To say that the people of Shining Path are "primitive and fanatical rebels," is in good measure casting aside the burden of anxiety engendered by such actions. No matter how extreme it may be, Shining Path violence is not gratuitous, uncontrolled or indiscriminate. It is contained within a strategy of the seizure of power for the accomplishment of a plan for society that will in no part be of the Inca, Andean, Ancient or Utopian type. To deprive the adversary of all labels, denying him all rationality, is an exercise that undoubtedly has a cathartic value, but it is not the best way to prepare oneself for facing him.

There is, therefore, a Shining Path strategy. This strategy being projected is one of very long duration; it is that of a war of attrition of which Mao was the theoretician and practitioner with the success known by all. It consists of multiplying commando actions, actions of sabotage and attacks on lives in an increasingly vast territory, in this way forcing the armed forces and police to scatter throughout a theater of operations, which tends to spread to the entire country. In the past 6 years the insurrection has actually spread to Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Aprimac and then to Pasco and Huanuco, and then to the mountain of La Libertad, Cusco, Ancash and Puno.

It is possible to forecast, without running the risk of being mistaken, that its leaders will make efforts to spread to other provinces and departments whenever they think the time is right. It can also be supposed that Shining Path will increase its pressure on the wall of Mantaro soon. It is already in a pincers formed by the northern focal point (Pasco-Huanuco-Ancash) and the southern focal point (Huancavelica-Ayacucho-Apurimac) of the insurrection.

However, the war being conducted by Shining Path is not aimed at accumulating military successes against the armed forces. It has the primary objective of paralyzing the economy and destabilizing the government, pushing it into making decisions that are increasingly unpopular under the reign of circumstances that are beyond their control. The attack on the mining centers and the recent attack on the Cusco-Machu Picchu tourist train, make it clearly obvious that the intentions of the people of Shining Path is that of halting the great sectors of economic life that provide hard currency for the country. For the rest, the territorial spread of the insurrection has the deliberate effect of forcing the government to allocate a growing part of the resources of the state to the maintenance of order. This year, military costs rise to 26 percent of the total state expenses budgeted, which means 1 percent more than last year and in absolute value, a substantial financial amount. In coming years, if the government wants to hold inflation down to reasonable limits, it will probably have to finance those costs either by an increase in tax collections (with the risk of causing discontent among the middle classes), or by a reduction in public spending (with the risk of leaving the social demands of the popular classes unsatisfied).

No government placed in that dilemma can have the assurance of holding on to its voter base for very long. Under such conditions, the operations of the representatives institutions becomes problematic in the long run. As a result, the armed forces see themselves naturally led, whether they want to or not, to assuming an increasing part of power. Once they assume it all, they become aware that they can do nothing with it because they are lacking a social support base. It is enough then, to demoralize a hundred discredited generals, to cause the collapse of the entire military apparatus, collapse to which the structure of authority, vertically and in rank, is particularly vulnerable, as was seen in Mexico in 1911 and in Iran not too long ago.

That is the force that Shining Path seeks to develop by means of the war of attrition. This war is being waged on all fronts at once: Military, economic, political and sociological. It is the total war of the poor.

I would summarize the Shining Path strategy as follows:

1. Force the government to exhaust the resources of the state in repression, thus preventing it from satisfying the elementary demands of the population, in this fashion exposing it to generalized discontent.

2. Create an increasingly chaotic situation in the cities, particularly Lima, that will be beyond the control of any authority regardless of what it may be.

3. Wait patiently until the people of Lima no longer bear this situation and sees in Shining Path the only authority capable of returning order.

Shining Path applies this strategy in a manner that is methodical and flexible; without excessive voluntarism or haste, skillfully drawing tactical advantage from every incident, such as the test of the prison revolt at the time of the Congress of the Socialist International. In this it has the enormous advantage that the government continues to allow it to have: That of initiative.

Question: Sociologically, what does the existence of Shining Path mean to you in the Latin American context?

Answer: Even when its emergence is linked to specifically Peruvian conditions, Shining Path has a sociological significance whose scope goes beyond the borders of Peru. Actually, the Shining Path insurrection makes evident the failure of the model of development imposed as a result of the great depression of 1929, particularly during the 40's, in all Latin American countries.

This model is based on industrialization for replacing imports. Its exhaustion began to be felt since the end of the 60's. This is obvious today in all of Latin America. On one hand, by overprotecting the domestic market to favor an industrial class, profitable in the best of cases, speculative in the worst, it has caused the disappearance of any possibility of creating a true national bourgeoisie. The functions that normally belonged to this impossible bourgeoisie have in part been transferred to a technological bourgeoisie of the state, which is too weak to assume them and in any case is incapable of conceiving a national and viable plan. Latin American societies are fragile because they have always lacked a bourgeois keystone.

On the other hand, the model has provoked the decomposition of the peasantry in a context of a very intensive demographic expansion. The labor market, which was even inexistent in some regions of Latin America in 1950, has since been rapidly saturated by the demand for work that industry and services cannot satisfy any more. From that results the increase of a sector of the population that today is considerable everywhere and which the socioeconomic system finds itself incapable of integrating into the productive process.

Finally, it has contributed in that fashion to modifying the configuration of the social area. In present Latin American societies basic opposition is no longer among classes. It tends to be between an integrated, organized and stratified sector of the population and a peripheral, marginal and unintegrated sector, of which Shining Path is the representative in Peru.

The fact that Shining Path assails the interests of the upper classes, as well as the person of worker leaders, demonstrates to the classes where the fronts of the conflicts that nourish the dynamic of every society are located.

It must be added that this bankrupt model of development has in the end made no one rich. In 1937, national per capita income of Argentina was nearly that of France. In 1950, national per capital income in Peru exceeded that of Japan. What remains of all this in 1986? I shall not have the cruelty to say it.

Part II: Understanding Peru

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 p 49

[Article by Alberto Adrianzen: "To Understand Peru"]

[Text] Some weeks ago, early in July, DESCO [Center for Development Studies and Promotion] organized a seminar on "Peruvian Political Thinking." The intention at that time was that of investigating the relationship existing between present politics and traditional Peruvian politics. The question posed in these terms necessarily required a return to the past, to our history. However, this return had as its main objective the understanding of the present, that is, what is happening to us today and what can happen to us in the future.

The seminar, therefore, sought to establish connections with thinkers and subjects of several decades ago. The intention was not only that of initiating an initial presentation and discussion on that thinking, but also to call attention to the fact that some problems that are debated today, many times with passion, were also posed by those intellectuals.

The structure of the seminar favored the bonding of subjects and thinkers. A first part under Professor Jeffrey Kleiber, Juan Abugattas, Fernando De Trazgenies and Gonzalo Portocarrero, was oriented toward exploration of relations between the citizenry and national independence and the idea of rights in the past century. A second part presided over by Antonio Pena, Sinesio Lopez, Jorge Nieto, Carlos Franco, Guillermo Nugent and Alberto Flores Galindo, investigated the conservative, Aprista and Marxist trends, respectively, in the country.

The need for a historical relationship, and I would say more specifically, the search for a national identity that sinks its roots into the past so as to transform the present, was perhaps the dominant concern.

Next, we present the opinions of Jorge Nieto and Juan Abugatta, contributors of a paper during this seminar, as well as the valued opinion of Guillermo Rochabrun, who was with us during this entire event. (Alberto Adrianzen).

Peru Today

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 50-53

[Paper presented by Jorge Nieto Montesinos to the Seminar "Peruvian Political Thinking" organized by DESCO: "Thinking About Peru Today"]

[Text] The seminar on Peruvian Political Thinking that DESCO organized early in July, certainly must be part of the efforts made by the Peruvian intellectual sector to instill its thinking on the country in our very own tradition of debate on national problems. The very question with which the event was inaugurated: "Is there a tradition of Peruvian political thinking?" revealed not only the intention but also the state of things from which a beginning is made. The fact is particularly important if one considers that up to a short time ago a good part of the left described its identity on the basis of international affiliations. This is valid for those who claimed to be "Soviets," "Albanians," "Trotskyites" from London or Paris, as well as for the more sophisticated who adhered to the "Althusser Mode" or the "Luxembourg Mode," "Gramsci" or whatever.

To base ourselves on a national tradition of political thinking allows us to enjoy several advantages. On one hand we can reveal the problems that have been making up the focus of the thinking of Peruvian intellectuals, thus learning which of them remain current, how they have been pondered, what are the ways in which they have been handled, and why they have not been resolved. On the other hand, we can resort on that basis to an instrumental relationship with contemporary thinking and place it at the service of our own thinking, and then produce a fruitful exchange with universal culture, not only with that of the "West." In that manner we ourselves are the present protagonists of the human event.

I have the impression, however, that the debates in the seminar on Peruvian Political Thinking were driven by something more than a mere intellectual proposal. This return on the tracks of those who from the right and left thought about Peru, was also much like an emotional search to strengthen our roots. It could seem excessive to state that our Peruvian identity is in doubt. Viewed carefully, it is not so much so. Some days ago CARETAS interviewed Julio Cotler, asking him why he stayed in Peru. A little before that Luis Pasara explained the reasons for his self-exile to the Institute of Peruvian Studies. A night later Gustavo Gutierrez transformed the same audience into listeners overcome by what appeared to me to be a varitable sermon, the sermon of the battlefield. The message was clear: If not the announcement of the promise of Peruvian life, it was the defense of having the Peruvians take up the challenge of doing something for the country now. Therefore, the debates of the seminar organized by DESCO not only looked for reasons but also for passions, national plan and love of Peru.

It seems strange to observe how in these dilemmas about our individual choices the subject of the construction of the nation always comes into play. The way in which Zavalita, the character in "Conversation in the Cathedral," reasons about his life, turns out to be similar to the way in which we Peruvians relate our lives to history. Seeking to find the reasons for his frustrations, that character did not ask himself when it was that he made choices that were wrong for himself. He asked himself, as we know, when it

was that Peru screwed itself. The same thing happens today, for example, with the type of reasoning that Pasara or Cotler justify their various options in life. If one leaves, it is because the country is no longer feasible, at least not in a democratic way. If the other one stays, it is because he stubbornly wants to believe that it is. Both, like Zavalita, resolve their lives with history and their individual identity with the possibility or impossibility of national identity. How much does this have to do with the way in which the processes of individuation and individualization, in the sense in which Richard Morse defined them, have not been realized fully because of the difficulties in national construction? The topic was not discussed in the seminar but the ideas developed in several of the lectures offered a valuable contribution for reflection on them. If it is answered positively, it is like saying that it is unlikely that a Peruvian could be a complete individual if he does not participate at the same time in the collective effort of national realization. What could appear to be a simple slip of egocentricity, is not, and it is perhaps revealed as a possible example of offering a new resolution to the relationship between an individual and the community. It is not the fragmented individuation produced by western capitalism; nor is it the dissolution of the individual in theocratic collectivism. Perhaps it is the possibility of being one in community. Perhaps this is also what Father Gutierrez thought when he wrote "Drink from Your Own Well," a book which in a theological way is a profound reflection on Peruvian subjectivity in the present world.

At the same time, observations on the difficulties of national construction remind us that since a long time back these were linked to two main subjects. On one hand there was the need for an independent state that would insure the construction of the economic base of the nation. The debates in the last century between the protectionists and free traders already announced the preeminence that the role of the state acquires in order to guarantee our economic development in the context of a market that at the time was beginning to be a world market. As in the Mexican case, the protectionists, usually conservatives, heirs of Spanish corporativism, then offered the best possibilities for the development of an economy that would sustain the Peruvian nation. However, unlike then, today a simple tariff protection would not be a sufficient measure for guaranteeing a harmonious development of our economy. And the positive aspect of the liberal proposal acquires validity: we can avoid the growing independence of the national economy on the world economy for a while, but not forever. The need for an economic plan that will allow the state to distinguish what it will protect and what it will not, progressively forcing an industrial reconversion that will make our economy less vulnerable, is shown to be necessary.

On the other hand, however, also since the time of Bolivarian and Aprista thinking, Peruvian political thinking has been aware that the possibility of construction of the Peruvian nation was indissolubly linked, if it wants to have a real viability, with the possibility of finding forms of Latin American integration. What some years ago appeared as simple rhetoric, today the problem that the foreign debt signifies for our possibility as nations, places it before us as an urgent matter. And this has perhaps

been, if the experts allow me to say so, one of the best arguments President Garcia has raised in the international context. Today our countries are not possible except in the framework of a sustained continental action.

To these common problems of the Latin American countries, another has been added in our country: that of the ethnical-cultural diversity. The existence of two traditions: the native European-Spanish and the Andean, which even today have not been able to resolve themselves into a nation and state, make our situation even more complex. The identification of interests that the Bourbon reforms produced between the native born Europeans and Indians, it has been said, could not be made a reality in the national anticolonial plan, which in the XVII Century was advocated by the Tupac Amaru revolution, because of these ethnic factors, in great measure. The native Europeans preferred to bet on an independence without social reform. The defeat of Tupac Amaru sealed, perhaps forever, the possibility of a national realization under an Indian Hegemony. If at that time it was possible, it was due to the fact that Tupac Amaru was a rare moment of linkage between the best of the worlds that coexisted in Peru. That is why it was capable of proposing a hegemonic integrating plan capable of attempting at least the bringing together of wills and interests, unlike the Bolivian "Katarismo" which consisted of cutting the throats of whites. [A "Katar" is defined as a short Indian dagger].

That this problem continues to be present is revealed to us by the terrorist activity of Shining Path in Peru today. A historical similarity has successfully been established between it and Bolivian Katarismo. Another analogy of the same type could be made between the very Indian rhetoric of Peruvian liberalism of the XIX Century, the result of a guilty conscience of the native European sector of our nation, and the self-denying sector of the left among our intellectuals, who today perhaps because of identical motives, justifies Shining Path activities because of historical and anthropological reasons. As has been said in the seminar, it was from this ambiguity of the pro-Indian rhetoric of liberalism that Bartolome Herrera drew his moral strength to try a rational reestablishment of Spanish leaning authoritarianism. Perhaps today also it will be that lack of indecision toward Shining Path terrorism that will nourish authoritarian options, which day by day win acceptance in public opinion and in the state.

Finally, it could be seen in the seminar how throughout the republican history a permanent conflict has taken place between democracy and authoritarianism as a recurring option for the Peruvians. Making simple revelations of political thinking complex, thinking that always supposes society to be democratic and the state to be authoritarian, it was seen how relations between both terms should always be situated. The existence of authoritarian and democratic traditions in society and the state in constant conflict has been the primary reason why they have been taken up by Peruvian political thinking. The question asked at the dawning of the republic as to whether the Peruvians were ready to govern themselves, resulted, depending on the reply, in the wager on a system of monarchic or republican government, maintains its currency today. Now we ask ourselves whether Peruvian society is capable today of making a move to self-determination. And depending on the reply, we make a choice for either a democratic institutionality, whose forms could be varied depending on historical correlations, or for different variants of authoritarianism, be it of the left, center or right.

The main part of the debate between Haya de la Torre and Mariategui was focused on this point. And probably both may have been aware of the difficulties existing in the Peruvian society of the time for reaching their democratic solution at that time. However, while Mariategui preferred to bet on a long period of construction of democracy based on society, Haya de la Torre favored a statist option, which producing social democratization, would establish premises so that once the peasants were educated and the working class developed--the producing classes--they would acquire self-determination. The thwarted itinerary of both options leads us to believe that perhaps one thing is not possible without the other; that the condition of democratic emergence from below is the existence of an increasingly democratic state, but that this is only possible if the various social sectors fight for self-government. Therefore, perhaps the road to follow will not be that of resolving the tension between the state and society by means of the secession of the latter, but rather that it remain until the extreme of attaining its own identity. To say it in the old but valid words of Sanchez Carrion, make the "...government of Peru be the same thing as Peruvian society." That this is a present problem is revealed to us at the same time by the double reality of the government of Garcia, democratizing in the social area, increasing authoritarianism in the political area. The same as Velasco, at least. The latter was the most democratic because of its social content, but also the most authoritarian because of its political form. And this, contrary to what some think, says less about Velasco and Garcia than of the Peruvian society in which both acted in their first years. Garcia distributes less because the economy imposes limits on him, limits Velasco did not have. Velasco was able to develop his government under authoritarian forms because at the time there was no social movement or a massive left that would oppose him.

However, in different historical circumstances, both faced an old dilemma posed in Peruvian society and political thinking: The possibility of uniting a process of social democratization and one of political democratization at the same time. As in other eras, it seems to me at times that the old wagers are repeating themselves. There are those who bet that it can be achieved only by the state and there are those who bet that it can only be done by society. Perhaps a seminar such as the one organized by DESCO will lead us to begin to understand that it is time that we attempted a different response now. Perhaps in that way tomorrow when we ask ourselves about our own personal destinies we will leave behind the memory of Zavalita, and instead of blaming Peru, we will ask about our responsibilities as Peruvians. What doubt can there be that this will be a real fruit of the intellectual and moral reform of which we have talked about so much without adopting it?

Ideology and Citizenship

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 54-55

[Paper presented by Juan Abugattas to the seminar "Peruvian Political Thinking" organized by DESCO: "Ideology and Citizenship in Present Day Peru"]

In every moment of the history of what today is called the West, it has been possible to state with a certain amount of clarity how societies were made up. Thus, for example, the Greek "Polis" were made up of citizens, while Rome was made up of "persons" and medieval Europe was made up of "corporations." The novelty of the modern era, on the other hand, was the invention of the "individual," who went on to become the constituent element and true protagonist of social life in the republics that reached their mature form in the state-nation.

Once the elements that make up a society are known, it is relatively easy to determine the types of relations that may be generated within it, as well as the space that pertains to each of its constituent parts. Possible configurations establish the limits of "order" in such a way that political discussions may be circumscribed to the effort, or if you prefer, to the competition, for determining which among all those possible is a "just order." When a consensus exists on this subject, a suitable form of legitimization of power has been attained.

These things, known to Plato, and which may even appear obvious to the inhabitants of any society that is halfway consistent, turn out to be almost completely exotic when one tries to apply them to Peru. If something helps in thinking about Peru, it is precisely the recognition that it is very difficult to establish whether this country of ours, that so pompously calls itself a "republic," is made up of individuals, corporations or of an unheard of merger among those and other political beings.

Certainly, because of its colonial roots, the present republic has clearly corporative characteristics, although some of its apparent founders such as Sanchez Carrion, for example, tried to create it as a society of individuals. Such could perhaps be the sense of the famous decree by Bolivar on the division of communities. But the recurrent return in republican history of practices such as that of loading taxes on "the Indians" or the preservation of restrictive clauses in the judicial system demonstrates that Peruvian individuals, if there are any, have to share a space with entities for whom the individual has only a functional value.

Of modern individuals, their inventors maintained that they can at the same time be subjects and sovereign; sovereign in the degree that they participate actively in the preparation of the law; subjects in the degree that by obeying that law made by themselves, they are obeying themselves. However, could it be said that there are individuals of this type in a society in which the huge majority of citizens do not have the slightest possibility

of truly participating in the preparation of laws and provisions that rule their life at the local, regional and national level? It is not, therefore, an exaggeration, although perhaps a subtle mockery, when there is talk of the existence of protective institutions in our country, because apparently the greater part of the Peruvians, who obey or simply try to evade the standards set by others to rule their lives, are from the point of view of the modern liberal concept of law, simple children who need care and protection. Paternalism is not accidental nor simply psychological in Peru, rather it overlaps in the very structure of its social and political life.

However, it is perhaps in the analysis of the self-perception of the Peruvian, that still remains to be done, that we shall find the clearest explanation for the impossibility of being able to understand our country as a modern republic. The Peruvian thinks of himself and of his relations with his fellow man in terms of bipolar and tripolar oppositions: "decent people/unimportant people/Indians" or country folk/people from Lima or mountain people/coastal people, or military/civilians, and so forth. All these oppositions are created on the basis of a central focus established by the self-perception of the subject as a member of a small human group, that may be the group of friends--compadres or the family group. The individual, therefore, viewed from up close and with a magnifying glass, is not one but rather he is primarily a member of a sort of a minicorporation. From this self-perception is derived a peculiar morality that allows anything to be done with respect to the "others," and that places restrictions only on the relations with the other members of the group, therefore, relations between persons who are not members of the same minicorporation cannot be ruled except by a mutual distrust. To that, in the final analysis, is what the famous native knavery is due. However, the serious thing is that this knavery means a serious limitation on the feelings of sympathy and solidarity that could serve as the foundation for a modern republic. The proof that we are living with a diminished sympathy is the ease and rapidity with which in our country, in almost any sphere, we can go from differences and the clash of interests to the most brutal and naked exercise of violence.

The most paradoxical of all this, however, is that it is precisely now that we have the impression of living in an era of profound crisis and the break-up of the institutions that traditionally have made up society; a process that is attempting to consolidate the model of republic we have been describing, has been put into motion. The reason is, that within the corporative scheme of things, there was always missing a corporation powerful enough to take upon itself the right to represent the citizenry. The first historical attempt to found such a corporation was the antimilitary party. The second was the creation of the Aprista Party, which only now has been able to climb to power. I would dare to suggest in this respect that the rivalry between the army and the APRA was due in great measure to the reluctance of the former to accept the appearance of a rival corporation.

General Velasco's revolution may, viewed from that perspective, be interpreted as the last serious attempt by the army to win the game from the civilian corporation, creating in passing the conditions that would make the appearance of other similar ones unnecessary in the future. That is the reason for the famous theory of the nonparty. But since the complexity of Peru and the limitations of the military corporation colluded to make the Velasco experience fail, the army has had no other recourse but to accept coexistence with APRA. The latter, in turn, aware of the rules of the game, has spared no efforts since it assumed government in exploring formulas for dialogue with the two largest corporations that traditionally have shared power in Peru: The army and the Catholic Church. Up to now the dialogue with the former has been easier, because dialogue with the latter, which in recent years has learned a more open language with respect to the requirements of the country, has been laden with surprises.

Under these circumstances, it is truly difficult to know what is going to happen in Peru. What to my understanding is obvious, is that it will be impossible to rebuild it as a modern republic in the traditional meaning of the term. But since the path of corporativism in these times inevitably means totalitarianism, optimism forces us to pose for ourselves as mandatory a gigantic but beautiful task: The invention of a new type of republic, finding a new way to establish the personality of the members of our society that will allow, not only its conversion into a receptable for a viable plan for collective living, but also into a resonant chamber for the opposing desires which today coexist in it by force or accident.

End of an Era

Lima QUEHACER in Spanish Aug-Sep 86 pp 56-57

[Paper presented by Guillermo Rochabrún S. to the seminar "Peruvian Political Thinking" organized by DESCO: "Peru: The Times and the Crisis"]

[Text] Not too long ago, the step prior to every political action consisted of characterizing "the Peruvian social makeup," the government, or the period. Today, these concerns appear to have been forgotten and many see in this a clear advance. I disagree with such an opinion, which throws out the baby with the bath water. Could it be that (revolutionary) policy no longer requires (revolutionary) theory? The solution does not reside in whether a characterization is made or not, but in whether it is done well or badly, and how it is translated into practice.

Obviously there "are moments in which a society finds it impossible to think of itself socially. For example, when it undergoes an explosion or it goes through a transition, as is said, using a very facile terminology." (Footnote 1) (Touraine, Alain: "A Desire for History," Intellectual Biography, p 66. Zero, Madrid, 1978). It is undeniable that we are now living in dim, grey, times of uncertainty, a present without history, that does not manifest itself as a "prolongation of the past" (Footnote 2) ("The Transformation of Change," editorial from the daily LA REPUBLICA,

29 May 1986. See also my article "Our Left: It Must Meet With Our Country" published in TREINTA DIAS, March 1984), and does not augur a recognizable or desirable future.

However, no break is ever total. It and its results depend on what is broken, how it happens, which aspects change more than others and what directions they take. In short, chaos also has its order, a structure, that is why we can distinguish one chaos from another chaos. What is it in the case of Peru? We are before the end of an era, to be more exact, several eras. There is a change in the historical time, when the answers to problems, alternatives, the actors and/or the questions themselves, which were current up to then, cease to be current or cease to appear current. Today we observe the simultaneous crises of several times or "durations" as Braudel said.

1) The most immediate is the crisis of modernity, and within it, at the same time, are different cycles.

a) In the first place, the obsolescence of the various development theories which bet on the emergence from underdevelopment by a collection of reforms. The historical wager was to be made and lost by the military government. Reforms were attempted, they did not resolve national problems and it is not possible to try them again as if nothing had happened. The reformist arsenal was exhausted and has not been replenished by the center or the left. In turn, this coincided with the most prolonged and profound economic crisis that our country has ever known and in whose solution the native fraction of international capital also failed. On the individual plane, goals such as "social rise" were replaced by simple subsistence.

b) The cycle of modernity initiated in the 40's also ended. Up to that time the country was interpreted on the basis of its past: That is how it was done with different concepts by those who interpreted it from the Indian point of view or the Spanish point of view. As of that time, it was viewed as having a promising future of modernization. Today, in turn, reasons such as that of industrial and technical development, planning, or development as a policy, lack seductive power.

c) "Is this the end of capitalism? Obviously not as an objective reality. But after the second Belaunde era, it appears to be exhausted in its capacity for promising, that is, as an ideology, and that makes it potentially more repressive. In that respect, we would also be witnessing the end of a cycle initiated at least with the coming of imperialist capital at the end of the Nineteenth Century. Capitalism appeared as a civilizing path and as a future at that time.

d) For complex reasons, which we cannot discuss now, the crisis of modernity also emerged with the crisis of socialism as a Utopia. Although the explanation goes further, socialism, self-defines itself as a way to the development of productive forces. Today the left has not been able to put together an alternate plan for them that can be assumed by the masses.

II) However there is a process of greater historical encouragement, and that is the crisis of the colonial matrix of social relations expressed traditionally by White/Indian relations. It is illustrated by the disappearance of the old chiefs and bosses, the emergence of new relationships in which customers no longer beg but pressure and even threaten, and where the bosses are not necessarily typical bulwarks of established order; the weakening of old principles, values and symbols, such as that of joining the "upper crust" or the practical disappearance of the "social" pages from the dailies. There is the resurgence of new esthetic forms such as Chica music. No one today has filled the symbolic space left by the oligarchy.

It is not accidental that this crisis coincides with the previous ones, because capitalism has become the center of sustainment and erosion of traditional order, instead of the other way around. However, the crisis of modernity, above all beginning with the economic impasses, has also weakened the political forces of opposition by making them lose historical perspectives. Today they do not take charge of the present except for an instant; they exist only in and for the occasion.

Daily life, private life, subjectivity and different violences emerge and are exacerbated because of these and other structural crises. Multiple violence exists: individual frustration, desperate solutions to immediate problems, collective replacement of inoperative authority, industrialized environment of illegal enrichment, perverse forms of revolutionary action and official repression; nothing unites them, because these crises disunite them.

Due to political violence, the present seems to be the important time. These lines seek to demonstrate, however, that it is particularly determined by much greater processes. What to do in view of these potentialities depends on the forces that may be created and their capability for being able to cope with the circumstances (Footnote 3) (Touraine continues: "But our role consists of preparing the instruments of knowledge that will allow society to understand itself when it once more finds itself in a condition to hold voluntary elections"). It will be understood that to limit oneself to acting from a state in crisis or as a mere opposition would not seem to be enough.

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